



The Developing Jihad: The Ideological Consistency of Jihadi Doctrine from Al-Qaeda to the Revolutionary Fundamentalist Movement

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Abstract

This paper aims to assess the consistency and coherency of al-Qaeda's theological and political ideologies following its shift to terrorism in the early 1990s and through the transition from terrorist group to global movement. The paper will identify a political/theological ideology that is based in and justified through Islam, specifically supported by the concepts of *jihad* (struggle) and *shahid* (martyr). This analysis finds that through the shift of al-Qaeda from a terrorist group to a movement (which is ideologically directed by al-Qaeda), the group's doctrine and ideology lack consistency. This lack of consistency specifically concerns the ideological position on democracy and reform within an Islamic state, and secondly the views on Shiite Muslims, particularly within Iraq.

Keywords: al-Qaeda, Islamic extremism, revolutionary fundamentalist movement, bin Laden, al-Zawahiri, al-Zarqawi, ideology, ideological consistency, jihad, Islam, terrorism.

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During the invasion of Afghanistan in October of 2001 by the coalition led by the United States, al-Qaeda's second in command, Dr Ayman al-Zawahiri wrote the book *Knights Under the Prophet's Banner*. This book outlined three goals for the newly mobilised 'revolutionary fundamentalist movement'. These goals were: 1) to organise ideological clarity and coherence, 2) resist the current secular regimes within the Muslim world, and 3) establish an Islamic state. This paper aims to assess the progress this movement has made towards meeting this first goal through an examination of al-Qaeda's statements, actions, and literature between the early 1990s and 2006. Within the field of terrorism studies there has been a significant portion of literature that examines al-Qaeda's ideology, goals, and statements from a number of disciplines. Such research includes Magnus Ranstorp's (1998)

examination of bin Laden's 1996 and 1998 *fatwas*,ⁱ Christopher Henzel's (2004) assessment of the origins of al-Qaeda's ideology, Jeffery Haynes' (2005) examination of al-Qaeda doctrine, and Christopher Blanchard's (2005) treatment of the group's evolving ideology. While these and other research provide a rich insight into al-Qaeda's ideology and goals, the area has yet to examine the consistency of the ideology and goals of the movement, particularly in light of the importance al-Zawahiri has placed on the role of this consistency for the future of the movement. Such an examination will also provide insight and analysis into the potential ramifications of such inconsistencies for the movement and provide a prospective basis for further research into the movement's doctrine.

Al-Qaedaⁱⁱ

The response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan marked the foundation of what would become al-Qaeda. Individuals from all over the world, from Arabs to Asians, flocked to become *Mujahideen* (strugglers) and participate in the *jihād* (struggle in defence of Islam) in resistance to what was seen as a direct assault on Islam (Burke, 2004). In 1984, Islamic scholar Abdullah Azzam and his student Osama bin Laden established the *Makhtab al-Khadamat lil Mujahideen al-Arab* (Afghan Services Bureau, MAK). MAK served as an office for the jihad against the Soviets; housing, training, and financing Muslims to fight the Soviets in Afghanistan. The MAK offices were established throughout 35 countries (including 30 offices in the US) and distributed propaganda, acting as recruiting centres for the jihad (Gunaratna, 2002). Azzam (1979) issued a clear fatwa for jihad in Afghanistan entitled *Defence of the Muslim Lands: The First Obligation After Iman* that declared that the killing of *kuffar* (unbelievers) was an obligation of all Muslims. Around 25 000 Muslims from all over the world rallied to Afghanistan to join the local resistance against the Soviets (Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2004).

Following the Mujahideen victory over the Red Army in 1989, Azzam wrote in his book *Defending the Land of the Muslims is Each Man's Most Important Duty*:

The duty will not end with victory in Afghanistan, jihad will remain an individual obligation until all other lands that were Muslim are returned to us so that Islam will reign again: before us lie Palestine, Bokhara, Lebanon, Chad, Eritrea, Somalia, the Philippines, Burma, southern Yemen, Tashkent, and Andalusia (Quoted in Burke, 2004: 73).

This statement signalled the concept of the 'global jihad'. These goals were to culminate with the reestablishment of the rule of the Islamic Caliphs. This position was initially based in the Wahhabist form of Sunni Islam through the works of Sayyid Qutb and Sayyid Abdul Al'a Mawdudi, eventually developing to the contemporary Salafist form of Sunni Islam through the writings of Azzam and Ayman al-Zawahiri. The Salafist brand of Islam essentially forms the foundation of what would become al-Qaeda's ideology.

In 1989 Azzam was assassinated by a car bomb.ⁱⁱⁱ Prior to the assassination, bin Laden was in the midst of creating a mobile fighting force for the defence of Islam based in Afghanistan. Following Azzam's death, bin Laden merged MAK into his newly created Mujahideen unit, effectively forming al-Qaeda (Bergen, 2006).

ⁱ A fatwa is essentially a religious edict.

ⁱⁱ This introduction to the formation of al-Qaeda is extremely brief due to length restrictions and as such is a very shallow and uncomprehensive background that merely aims to establish the central events in the group's formation.

ⁱⁱⁱ No responsibility was claimed for the assassination, however Gunaratna (2002) maintains that bin Laden condoned the attack.

Operations between 1993-1996

In the early 1990s, al-Qaeda focused on training and funding jihads in Chechnya, Kashmir, Indonesia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Yemen, Algeria, and Egypt (Gunaratna, 2002). In 1993 Al-Qaeda had involvement in the first World Trade Centre bombing, which killed six and injured over one thousand. The group also planned the elaborate but failed 1994 *Oplan Bojinka* (Operation Explosion), which involved the assassination of Pope John Paul II, and US President Clinton, as well as the destruction of 11 US airliners and the CIA in Langley (United States Department of State, 2003).

On November 13, 1995, individuals associated with bin Laden detonated a car bomb outside the offices of the Saudi National Guard in Riyadh, killing seven (National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, 2004). On June 25, 1996, a bomb consisting of approximately 4 000 pounds of explosives attached to a fuel truck driven by an Islamic extremist exploded outside the Khobar Towers military complex in Dharan, Saudi Arabia, housing US Air Force personnel. 19 US servicemen were killed and 372 were injured (Bergen, 2004). Al-Qaeda most likely assisted the Saudi Hezbollah guerrillas in these attacks (National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, 2004). The Khobar Towers operation saw the adoption of suicide bombing within this strand of international terrorism. In the second chapter of the al-Qaeda manual (nd.), 'Necessary Qualifications and Characteristics for the Organisation's Member', qualification four reads: "Sacrifice: He [the member] has to be willing to do the work and undergo martyrdom for the purpose of achieving the goal and establishing the religion of majestic Allah on earth". The concept of martyrdom through suicide bombings is a consistent and important element of al-Qaeda's strategy and ideology.^{iv}

Declaration of War

Two months following the devastating attack in Dharan, in August 1996, bin Laden released a fatwa entitled *Declaration of War Against the Americans Occupying the Land of the Two Holy Places*. This was a detailed and lengthy document that specifically and comprehensively detailed bin Laden's early ideological doctrine. It is important to note that bin Laden did not command the religious authority to issue a fatwa and its implications for Muslims were not binding.

This fatwa clearly established three elements of bin Laden's ideological doctrine. The first was the most extensive and was a rationale for and the declaration of war against the US, Israel, and their allies. The second was a critique of the Saudi regime. The final element of the fatwa discussed the mobilisation of the Islamic world, although this was the lesser of the three messages that run throughout the document.

Bin Laden's fatwa firstly concerned itself with the case for violent resistance against an imperial US. The fatwa stated that the Islamic nation has suffered from injustice, iniquity, and aggression from the Zionist/Crusaders and their allies, specifically he stated that:

Their [Muslim] blood was spilled in Palestine and Iraq. The horrifying pictures of the massacre in Qana, in Lebanon, are still fresh in our memory. Massacres in Tajikistan, Burma, Kashmir, Assam, Philippine, Fatani, Ogadin, Somalia, Eritria, Chechnya, and in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Quoted in *Al-Islah*, 1996).

^{iv} This concept was heavily influenced by Ayman al-Zawahiri.

The greatest aggression (since the death of the Prophet), bin Laden maintained, was the deployment of US military assets in Saudi Arabia which were to support Operation Desert Shield from August 1990. Bin Laden described this deployment as “the occupation of the land of the two holy places...by the armies of the American Crusaders and their allies (Quoted in *Al Islah*, 1996)”.

Bin Laden continued with the justification for the attacks on the US by making reference to the conflicts in Lebanon and Iraq, claiming the US are:

responsible for all the killings and evictions of the Muslims and the violations of the sanctuaries, carried out by your Zionist brothers in Lebanon; you openly supplied them with arms and finance. More than 600 000 Iraqi children have died due to lack of food and medicine and as a result of the unjustifiable aggression (sanctions) imposed on Iraq and its people...You the USA, together with the Saudi regime, are responsible (Quoted in *Al Islah*, 1996).

This leads into the actual declaration of jihad against the US and the crusaders:

It is a duty now on every tribe in the Arab Peninsular to fight Jihad in the Cause of Allah and to cleanse the land from the occupiers. Allah knows that their blood is permitted (to be spilled) and their wealth is a booty...The most Exalted said, in the verse of As-Sayf, The Sword: So when the sacred months have passed away, then slay the idolaters wherever you find them, and take them captive and besiege them, and lie in wait for them in every ambush (Quoted in *Al Islah*, 1996).

The second element of the fatwa was a critique of the Saudi regime, which held three principal criticisms. The first criticism cited the failure to enforce Shariah law and the reversion of the regime to man-made civil law. The second criticism was focused around the country's relationship with the US (and allowing them to exploit the country) and the final criticism rested on the Kingdom allowing US military assets and troops into the country (as the site of Mecca and Medina).

The final element of the *Declaration of War against the Americans Occupying the Land of the Two Holy Places* was an attempt to mobilise the Muslim world. Bin Laden stated that Muslims should avoid at all costs an internal conflict amongst themselves, listing the political and economic consequences: 1) fatalities will be among Muslim people, 2) exhaustion of economic and financial resources, 3) destruction of infrastructure, 4) dissociation of society, 5) destruction of the oil industry, and 6) division of the land of the two Holy Places. The fatwa instructed Muslims to boycott American goods, as this money

will be transformed into bullets used against our brothers in Palestine and tomorrow (in the future) against our sons in the land of the two Holy Places. By buying these goods, we are strengthening their economy, while our dispossession and poverty increases (Quoted in *Al Islah*, 1996).

This discussion extended to the Saudi purchasing of arms and their economic and commercial cooperation with the US, stressing the importance of denying the US economic revenue and expressing Muslims' hate and anger towards the superpower.

This lengthy document represented bin Laden and al-Qaeda's first comprehensive ideological position, citing the three principle ideological foundations for the group; war against the US, the overthrowing or altering of the Saudi government, and the mobilisation of the Islamic world to facilitate the first two goals. Although the second goal of the fatwa was specific to Saudi Arabia and largely concerned Arab nations, it addresses the Muslim nation and cites what he calls injustices against Muslims in many nations around the world.

World Islamic Front

Exactly eighteen months subsequent to the release of the 1996 fatwa, bin Laden, in addition to Ayman al-Zawahiri (from the Jihad Group in Egypt), Abu Yasir Rifai Ahmad Taha (from the Egyptian Islamic Group), Sheikh Mir Hamzah (from Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Pakistan), and Fazlur Rahman (from the Jihad Movement in Bangladesh), released a second fatwa. This collection of Islamic extremist organisations were identified as the World Islamic Front, the document entitled *The World Islamic Front Statement for Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders*. This fatwa had more religious authority than bin Laden's 1996 proclamation due to Sheikh Hamzah's inclusion.

This much shorter document was more succinct and direct in relation to the complaints and directions put forth by the authors. The fatwa first outlined its grievances against the US: 1) That the

United States has been occupying the lands of Islam in the holiest of places, the Arabian Peninsula, plundering its riches, dictating to its rulers, humiliating its people, terrorising its neighbours, and turning its bases in the Peninsula into a spearhead through which to fight the neighbouring Muslim peoples (Quoted in Laqueur, 2004: 411);

2) That the US continues sanctions against Iraq despite the resulting death toll exceeding one million, despite this, the fatwa claims, the US continues its interference in the Middle East, and; 3) Their support for Israel and their weakening of Arab and Muslims states to ensure Israel's prosperity.

These actions, the document claims, are a clear declaration of war on Islam. In response the World Islamic Front:

issue this fatwa to all Muslims: The ruling to kill the Americans and their allies – civilians and military- is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it, in order to liberate the al-Aqsa Mosque and the holy mosque [Mecca] from their grip, and in order for their armies to move out of all the lands of Islam, defeated and unable to threaten any Muslim. This is in accordance with the words of almighty Allah, 'and fight the pagans all together as they fight you all together', and 'fight them until there is no more tumult or oppression, and there prevail justice and faith in Allah' (Quoted in Laqueur, 2004: 411-412).

The World Islamic Front statement re-established the principal messages of the 1996 fatwa, albeit with greater religious authority. This doctrine focused on the jihad against the US citing the sanctions in Iraq, troops in Saudi Arabia, and interference in the Middle East. The 1998 fatwa did not carry the anti-Saudi rhetoric of the 1996 document, but was replaced by a greater focus of attention on the state of Israel and Jews. The fatwa did not include specific discussion of the mobilisation of Muslims, as its lengthier predecessor did, aside from the decree to kill Americans (including civilians) and their allies.

Operations 1998-2001

Six months after the release of this fatwa, on August 7 1998, the US embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, were attacked by al-Qaeda suicide truck bombs killing 224 people (Bergen, 2001). Following these simultaneous attacks (which would become a hallmark of al-Qaeda operations) a group calling itself the Islamic Liberation Army of the People of Kenya (a pseudonym) released a statement claiming responsibility for the bombings:

The Americans humiliate our people, they occupy the Arabian peninsular, they extract our riches, they impose a blockade and, besides, they support the Jews of Israel, our worse enemies, who occupy the Al-Aqsa mosque...The attack was justified because the government of Kenya recognised that the Americans had used the country's territory to fight against its Moslem neighbours, in particular Somalia. Besides, Kenya cooperated with Israel. In this country one finds the most anti-Islamic Jewish centres in all of East

Africa. It is from Kenya that the Americans supported the separatist war in Southern Sudan, pursued by John Garang's fighters (Quoted in Haynes, 2005: 187).

This statement makes it clear that the targets and motivations of this attack were both American and Jewish, maintaining the rhetoric of the 1998 fatwa.

On October 12 2000, a zodiac,^v driven by an al-Qaeda member, filled with over 500 pounds of explosives rammed the destroyer United States Ship (USS) *Cole* in the port of Aden, in Yemen. The resulting explosion killed 17 US servicemen and injured 39 (Bergen, 2001). Like the previous attacks al-Qaeda were responsible for or had a hand in, bin Laden refused to claim direct responsibility but praised the attacks. Al-Qaeda's targeting pattern to this point consisted of US military, government, and economic interests in Muslim nations as defined through their doctrine. The exception to this assertion is the 1993 attack on the World Trade Centre which was in the United States.^{vi}

On September 11, 2001, 19 members of al-Qaeda hijacked 4 commercial airliners, crashing one each into the North and South towers of the World Trade Centres, the Pentagon, and a deserted area of Pennsylvania after passengers attempted to retake the aircraft. Each of the hijacked aircraft were carrying approximately 60 000 pounds of jet fuel, and travelling at around 300 miles per hour. Almost 3 000 people died in these attacks (National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, 2004).

Bin Laden released several statements following the attacks of September 11. A video aired on Al-Jazeera on October 7, 2001, praised Allah and the vanguard responsible, making it clear the communiqué was not a claim of responsibility. Bin Laden then discussed the justification for such attacks, again citing the deaths of innocent children in Iraq as a result of sanctions and the Israeli aggression into Palestine. The al-Qaeda leader then stated that the world has now been divided into two sides, the believers and the infidels, claiming that "every Muslim has to rush to make his religion victorious...neither America nor the people who live in it will dream of security before we live it in Palestine, and not before all the infidel armies leave the land of Muhammad (2001a)". This message carried the previously stated political motivations with regard to Iraq sanctions, Israeli aggression into Palestine, and US troops in Saudi Arabia. The video also conveys a strong message for the mobilisation of Islam through the polarisation of Muslims and the West.

Following this statement, on November 3, Al-Jazeera broadcast another video of bin Laden which criticised the United Nations and Arab leaders who cooperated with the international organisation, claiming that such leaders were infidels (2001b). This was followed by similar video, aired on December 27, which termed the invasion of Afghanistan by the US and Allies as a crusade against Islam led by America and supported by the West in general. Bin Laden claims "our terrorism against America is benign. It seeks to make the unjust stop making injustice. It seeks to make America stop its support for Israel while killing our people (2001c)".

From the attacks and statements made by al-Qaeda and bin Laden between 1993 and 2001, a clear and definitive ideology can be established. This ideology specifically draws justification for violence and defensive jihad against the US for its military assets in Saudi Arabia, its sanctions on Iraq, and its interference with the domestic economic and political affairs of Arab and Muslim nations. Furthermore, this jihad extends to Israel and Jews due to their aggression against Arabs and

^v A type of small boat.

^{vi} As well as the failed 'Bojinka' plot.

Palestine in particular. The next major component of this ideology is a critique of the Saudi government, specifically its cooperation with the US and its introduction of civil law and diminishing of Islamic law. The final component of the ideology aims at the mobilisation of the Islamic world to revolt against secular Muslim regimes and the implementation of Shariah law in their stead.

21st Century Islamic Extremist Movement

The September 11 attacks achieved the precise effect that bin Laden and his second in command Ayman al-Zawahiri had intended (al-Zawahiri merged his Jihad Group with al-Qaeda in 1998 following the 1998 fatwa). The attacks mobilised the Muslim world, facilitated further by the invasion of Afghanistan and the common view within the Middle East of a crusade into the region.^{vii} During this invasion, al-Zawahiri wrote *Knights under the Prophet's Banner*, which provided a comprehensive ideological insight into the intended development of the group and the directions for al-Qaeda and the burgeoning jihadist movement.

Knights under the Prophet's Banner

While discussing the direction, strategy, and goals of al-Qaeda, al-Zawahiri discussed the 'revolutionary fundamentalist movement', which specifically correlates to the best characterisation of the current phase of Islamic extremism, that is, that it is now a movement, an ideology, and no longer just a group, as will be demonstrated subsequently.

In this doctrine, al-Zawahiri set the goals for the movement which are 1) to organise ideological clarity and coherence, 2) resist the current secular regimes within the Muslim world, and 3) establish an Islamic state. The resistance suggested by Zawahiri was threefold: 1) political activism against secular Muslim states, 2) a terrorist campaign within urban areas of these Muslim states, and 3) a terrorist campaign against the United States and Israel to increase the jihad's support within the Muslim world (Henzel, 2004). Al-Zawahiri articulated that the priorities of the movement should be focused on the Muslim states, while attacks on, and the reactions by, Western nations (particularly the US) would further facilitate the mobilisation of the Muslim world. "Victory for the Islamic movements...cannot be attained unless these movements possess an Islamic base in the heart of the Arab region (Quoted in Laqueur, 2004: 426)". This statement is especially profound when we consider the bitter and bloodletting conflict in Iraq (to be discussed further).

According to al-Zawahiri, the current phase of jihad is a revolutionary conflict and the "jihad must dedicate one of its revolutionary wings to work with the masses, preach, provide services...the people will not love us unless they feel that we love them, care about them, and are ready to defend them (Quoted in Henzel, 2004: 17-18)". This strategy is no doubt influenced by the success of HAMAS and Hezbollah's effective use of such programs within Gaza, Palestine and Lebanon.

This addition to al-Qaeda's doctrine discusses the direction for the group and the newly mobilised Islamic population. Unlike the fatwas of 1996 and 1998, al-Zawahiri focuses al-Qaeda's attention on Arab Muslims, unlike previous statements which had a global focus. Al-Zawahiri maintains a clear doctrine of revolution within Muslim states and to a lesser extent, a continued campaign against the US. This doctrine

^{vii} Assisted by an inappropriate and embarrassing gaffe by US President George W Bush terming the US's response as a crusade.

acknowledges that the al-Qaeda leadership meant to establish an Islamic extremist movement independent of the al-Qaeda leadership through the mobilisation of Islam.

Operations & Statements 2002-2006

While the 1996 & 1998 documents served as 'declaration of war', the attacks of 9/11 conveyed this message far louder than mere words. These attacks, while their legitimacy as targets can be argued, saw civilian casualties on a vividly unprecedented scale. This marked a shift in target patterns for the 21st Century Islamic extremist movement. The increase in security and counter-terrorism measures further facilitated this shift through a concentration on 'soft targets', following the target hardening of critical infrastructure, embassies, and military assets and installations. This period has seen scores of Islamic extremist groups, who were previously unknown or considered minor groups have risen to join the al-Qaeda led campaign against Western nations. In April of 2002, in Tunisia, an al-Qaeda bomber detonated a truck carrying natural gas outside a historic Jewish synagogue, which killed 21 people. On May 12, 2003, in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, four expatriate housing complexes were attacked by suicide bombers in explosive filled vehicles. 25 bystanders were killed in the attacks, later attributed to al-Qaeda (Cooper & Higgins, 2003). Later that month, twelve al-Qaeda linked suicide bombers attacked Spanish and Jewish sites in Casablanca, Morocco, killing 33 people ('International: After Madrid; Morocco and al-Qaeda', 2004). In November, two Jewish synagogues in Istanbul, Turkey were bombed killing 23 people. Just days later, the British Consulate, and the British owned HSBC bank were attacked by suicide bombers, killing a further 27 people. Joint responsibility was claimed between al-Qaeda and the fictional 'Great Eastern Islamic Raiders Front' (*Warning of More Attacks in Turkey*, 2003).^{viii}

The al-Qaeda financed and backed Indonesian Islamic extremist group *Jemaah Islamiyah* (Islamic community) was responsible for the bombing of night clubs in Bali on October 12, 2002, which left over 200 people dead, including 88 Australians. The group are also responsible for the Marriott bombing in Jakarta on August 5, 2003, which killed 17 and injured 100 (United States Department of State, 2003), and the bombing of the Australian Embassy in Jakarta, on September 9, 2004, which killed ten and injured over a hundred (Soetjipto & Sukarsono, 2004).

The targeting of civilians in the September 11 attacks and the 2002 Bali bombings, although previously justified in relation to the killing of American civilians through the World Islamic Front statement of 1998, prompted Osama bin Laden to further justify such targets in a statement two days after the Bali bombing:

It is a fundamental principle of any democracy that the people choose their leaders, and as such, approve the party to the actions of their elected leaders...By electing these leaders, the American people have given their consent to the incarceration of the Palestinian people, the demolition of Palestinian homes and the slaughter of the children of Iraq. The American people are active members in all these crimes (*Al-Qa'ah*, 2002).

On March 20, 2003, a coalition led by the US, but consisting of forces from the UK, Poland, and Australia invaded Iraq. The invasion was justified through anticipatory self-defence in light of the Weapons of Mass Destruction that the coalition claimed Iraq possessed (Conte, 2005). A secondary justification for the invasion (which was subsequently withdrawn) was based on tentative links between the Saddam Hussein

^{viii} While al-Qaeda was jointly responsible for this operation, it is reported that bin Laden considered it a failure as it killed Muslim Turks while its targets were meant to consist of US interests in the nation, such as its military bases

led Iraqi Government and al-Qaeda. During the 'major operations' stage of the invasion of Iraq, US warplanes were launched from air force bases in Saudi Arabia, further aggrieving bin Laden in his objections.^{ix} On May 1, following a successful initial campaign, US President George Bush announced the conclusion of major combat operations (Reid, 2003). In the months following this announcement, it appeared clear that the insurgency in Iraq led by foreign terrorists threatened to plunge the newly liberated Iraq into a guerrilla form of civil war.

The insurgent/terrorist campaign in occupied Iraq directed against US soldiers, security forces and civilian contractors, has claimed thousands of lives. On August 19, 2003, a truck laden with explosives detonated outside the Canal Hotel where the UN had based their headquarters in Iraq. 22 people died, including the highest ranking UN envoy in the country, Brazilian Vieira de Mello. Over 150 people were injured (*UN Iraq Security 'Dysfunctional'*, 2003). Similar attacks against institutions committed to the post war reconstruction of Iraq, civilians, and US forces within Iraq have been claimed by and attributed to groups such as the 1920 Revolution Brigades, the Islamic Army in Iraq, the Mujahideen Army, al-Qaeda in Iraq, Ansar al-Sunna Army, and the Salah al-Din al-Ayubi Brigades (Hafez, 2006).

Due to the Spanish government's involvement in the invasion of Iraq, on March 11, 2004, ten explosive devices were detonated on four trains during peak hour in Madrid, Spain. The explosions killed 190 people, and injured over 1 400 (Crawford & Parker, 2004). An Islamic brigade claiming to be an arm of al-Qaeda claimed responsibility for the attacks in a video-taped message from al-Qaeda's military chief in Europe, in which he said: "We declare our responsibility for what happened in Madrid exactly 2.5 years after the attacks on New York and Washington...More blood will flow if the injustices [in Iraq] do not stop (Quoted in Frey, 2004: 1)". This was followed by an audiotape given to the Associated Press in the same month. The audiotape was a statement from bin Laden, who called on Muslims of Arab and Muslim states to revolt if their governments supported or expressed support for the invasion of Iraq (Haynes, 2005).

In mid-April bin Laden (2004) released another audiotape that offered a truce to European nations in return for the withdrawal of their armed forces from the Middle East. The truce was available for a period of three months and would begin once all troops were withdrawn from the Arab world. In the tape, bin Laden promoted their action as defensive: Russians were attacked for invading Afghanistan in the 1980s, the US were attacked for their 'invasion' of the Arabian peninsular and support of Israel, and the Europeans were only attacked when they joined the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq. This truce was generally rejected outright by European nations.

Following the devastating attacks in Madrid and the increase in security levels throughout Europe and the West, the movement concentrated its terrorist campaign against Saudi Arabia and its American interests. On May 12, 2003, 26 people were killed in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, when Islamic extremists entered a compound housing Western employees of American companies and opened fire with automatic rifles before detonating explosives. This attack was followed in November by another suicide attack in Riyadh, this time a truck bomb, which killed 18, most of whom were Arabs (United States Department of State, 2003). On May 1, 2004, Islamic extremists stormed an American owned petrochemical plant in Yanbu'al Bahr, killing seven. Later that month extremists attacked an oil installation taking over 50

^{ix} The Saudis allowed these operations as the US promised a withdrawal from Saudi Arabia following combat operations in Iraq. While the US largely carried through with this agreement, several hundred US troops remain in Iraq.

hostages, executing 22 of the hostages. In December of 2004, militants assaulted the US consulate in Jeddah, killing four. All the gunmen were killed before they entered the consulate building (Boucek, 2006).

Following the attack in Jeddah, bin Laden released another audiotape praising the campaign in Saudi Arabia, specifically citing the attack on the US consulate. Bin Laden reinforced the central tenets of al-Qaeda's ideology, criticising the Saudi royal family for its lack of commitment to the implementation of Islamic law and its support for the US. The al-Qaeda leader appealed to religious scholars, businesses, and community leaders to cease their support for the royal family (Blanchard, 2005).

While the Saudi campaign was gathered pace, the insurgency in Iraq continued to severely disrupt and devastate the democratisation, security, and stability of Iraq. In an al-Qaeda promotional video, al-Zawahiri's stated: "Here is America among us. So, come take revenge on it and extinguish your thirst with its blood" (Quoted in Haynes, 2005: 178). It is clear that al-Qaeda view Iraq as an opportunity to defeat the US and potentially establish an Islamic state. The leader of al-Qaeda Jihad Organisation in the Land of the Two Rivers, also known as al-Qaeda in Iraq (formerly *Jama'at al-Tawhid wal-Jihad* (Monotheism and Holy War Group)), Abu Masab al-Zarqawi, followed al-Zawahiri's statement with an audiotape in early April, 2004, this statement was significant on two levels. The first is the reasons for the US campaign in Iraq and the second was the anti-Shiite tirade. Zarqawi lists the reasons for the US invasion of Iraq: 1) the resources, 2) to quell the jihadist movement through altering the region's political, economic, and cultural foundations to suit its own interests, 3) neo-conservatives employing Talmudic prophecies for "killing Iraqis, raping their women, smashing the heads of their children, and pouring death on their heads, as they have actually done (2004)", 4) to ensure the prosperity of Israel, and 5) to weaken and dismember the Arab states. Zarqawi introduces the first elements of sectarianism by al-Qaeda leadership in a statement:

The Shiites have distorted the Koran, insulted the prophet's companions, stabbed the mothers of the faithful, repudiated the people of Islam and spilled their blood, committed great sins and engaged in all kinds of superstitions, falsehood, and myths...They always support infidels, including Jews and Christians. They help them in killing Muslims (2004).

It is clear that al-Zarqawi intended to defeat the US through inciting a sectarian, facilitated by increasingly brutal attacks against the Shiite population in Iraq.

A fatwa concerning Iraq was released on November 5, 2004 by the Saudi Sheikhs Safar al-Hawali, Salman al-Awdah, and Ali bin Awad al-Qarni entitled *An Open Address to the Struggling Iraqi People*, declaring jihad in Iraq is the responsibility of every able person. This fatwa was followed by another audiotape from bin Laden on December 27 that further issued his support for the insurgency in Iraq. In the tape, bin Laden officially announces al-Zarqawi as the leader of al-Qaeda in Iraq and encouraged jihadists to fight against the Americans and for Muslims to oppose democracy Iraq and Afghanistan, in addition to resisting non-Islamic reform within Middle Eastern governments. Bin Laden again speaks of the unity and mobilisation of the Muslim people:

The Iraqi who is waging jihad against the infidel Americans or Allawi's renegade government is our brother and companion, even if he was of Persian, Kurdish, or Tukomen origin. The Iraqi who joins this renegade government to fight against the Mujahideen...is considered a renegade and one of the infidels, even if he were an Arab from the Rabiah or Mudar tribes (Quoted in Blanchard, 2005: 11).

This statement flies in the face of al-Zarqawi's vilification of Shiites earlier in 2004. The clear strategy for al-Qaeda in Iraq is to create as much chaos and instability as

possible to ensure the US's inability to establish a stable and democratic state in Iraq. Al-Zarqawi's attempt to facilitate a civil war between the Sunni and Shiite populations of Iraq certainly fulfils this goal. In an October 29, 2004 statement claiming responsibility for the September 11 attacks for the first time, bin Laden extends his discussion to the situation in Iraq:

And even more dangerous and bitter for America is that the Mujahideen recently forced Bush to resort to emergency funds to continue the fight in Afghanistan and Iraq, which is evidence of the success of the bleed-until-bankruptcy plan [as, he claims, it worked against the Soviet Union] (2004b).

During this period, which appears as a concerted effort by the al-Qaeda leadership to divert resources to the Iraq, Afghanistan, and Saudi Arabia campaigns, al-Zawahiri released another audiotape on January 30, 2005. In this tape, al-Zawahiri introduces three tenants of al-Qaeda's political ideology: 1) the establishment of an Islamic state governed through Shariah law, 2) the liberation of the homelands – al-Zawahiri maintains that until Muslim lands are liberated and free from aggression, reform and free elections cannot take place, 3) the liberation of the human being, a social contract that would "specify the power of the Shariah-based judiciary, and insure that no one can dispose of people's rights, except in accordance with this judiciary (Quoted in Blanchard, 2005: 7)".

This statement by al-Zawahiri is profoundly significant in that it acknowledges and gives credence to a Shariah-based democratic system as well as reforms of traditional Islamic states. Arguably, the introduction of these concepts directly contradict statements made previously by bin Laden in relation to Saudi Arabia. This possibly represents an attempt to appeal to the more secular Muslims that support representative government but nonetheless represents a dramatic shift in ideology and political philosophy.

Islamic extremists carried through with al-Qaeda's threats of further action if their truce was rejected in Europe on July 7, 2005 when suicide bombers detonated explosive devices carried in backpacks on three London Underground trains within 50 seconds of each other at 8.50AM and one on a double-decker bus at 9.47AM. The bombings killed 56 people and injured over 700. Within hours a statement was released by The Secret Organisation Group of al-Qaeda in Europe. This statement stated:

Nations of Islam and Arab nations: Rejoice, for it is time to take revenge against the British Zionist crusader government in retaliation for the massacres Britain is committing in Iraq and Afghanistan. The heroic Mujahideen [holy warriors] have carried out a blessed raid [*ghazw*^x] in London. Britain is now burning with fear, terror and panic in its northern, southern, eastern, and western quarters.

We have repeatedly warned the British government and people. We have fulfilled our promise and carried out our blessed military raid in Britain after our Mujahideen exerted strenuous efforts over a long period of time to ensure the success of the raid.

We continue to warn the governments of Denmark and Italy and all the crusader governments that they will be punished in the same way if they do not withdraw their troops from Iraq and Afghanistan. He who warns is excused (Nur al-Iman, 2004).

The last sentence is a rebuttal to Muslims who condemn Islamic terrorism, indicating that through the Koran, if a warning is given, the resulting violence is excused.

On September 1, 2005, al-Jazeera aired an al-Qaeda video featuring al-Zawahiri and one of the London bombers, Muhammad Sadiq Khan. This tape again attempts to

^x An attack for the purposes of conquest.

justify the targeting of civilians when Khan states "Your democratically elected governments continue to perpetuate atrocities against my people all over the world...Your support for them makes you directly responsible". Al-Zawahiri expands on this statement by promising further attacks in Europe following the rejection of bin Laden's truce.

Following the attacks in London, there have been several disrupted and successful attacks by Islamic extremists, the most significant of the successful operations were the October 2005 Bali bombings by Jemaah Islamiyah (United States Department of State, 2006), which killed 23 people, and the July 2006 Mumbai train bombings by the Pakistan-based *Lashkar-e-Taiba* (Army of the Righteous) which killed 207 people. In a statement by bin Laden released on an internet site on June 30, the al-Qaeda amir responded to the death of al-Zarqawi in Iraq by US forces, warning that "the banner [of al-Qaeda in Iraq] hasn't dropped but has passed from one lion of Islam to another" and that "we will continue, God willing, to fight you and your allies everywhere...in Iraq and Afghanistan and in Somalia and Sudan until we waste all your money and kill your men (2006)".

Findings

The review of al-Qaeda and the 21st Century Islamic extremist movement's activities and statements identifies an ideology and strategy that while maintaining a consistent foundation, has changed dramatically, particularly following the September 11 attacks. Since 2001, al-Qaeda has generally claimed responsibility for its attacks and usually offers justification for the action on both political and religious grounds. This has become far more commonplace since al-Qaeda's shift to attacking soft targets and aiming for mass civilian casualties. As has been demonstrated, al-Qaeda has gone to great lengths to justify these targets. Additionally, the focus of al-Qaeda shifted dramatically to the Arab world as oppose to the entire Muslim nation of the earlier fatwas of 1996 and 1998, demonstrating a strategic shift following the mobilisation of the revolutionary fundamentalist movement.

Al-Qaeda's efforts to mobilise the Islamic world has been a successful endeavour. The 21st Century Islamic extremist movement is an ideological concept that appeals to its constituency through the participation of others, similar to the propaganda of the deed doctrine of anarchist terrorism during the late 18th to early 20th Centuries. Within the propaganda of the deed doctrine, individual actions and the response they garner increases the participation and mobilisation of the movement. Despite this seemingly decentralised leviathan-esque movement, it appears that the al-Qaeda leadership largely remains in charge (at least within the ideological scope examined within this article). The priorities, targets, and justification are all directed through statements made by bin Laden, al-Zawahiri, and formerly to a lesser extent the now deceased al-Zarqawi.

The current strategy of al-Qaeda appears to entail the support and deepening of conflicts in the Middle East such as Iraq, Afghanistan, and to a lesser extent Saudi Arabia and Palestine, while attempting attacks in Europe to discourage support for the US and the conflicts in the Middle East. This is particularly relevant to the insurgency in Iraq, which the group sees as a direct opportunity for the movement to establish an Islamic state under Shariah law.

While the foundation of al-Qaeda's doctrine remains consistent in its grievances against the US, Israel, and Saudi Arabia, its mobilisation of the Islamic world, and the establishment of Islamic law within Muslim nations, its ideological consistency has suffered through the development of the movement. The first major inconsistency is

the targeting of Shi'a Muslims by al-Qaeda in Iraq. In bin Laden's 1996 fatwa, he specifically discourages a war within Islam, furthermore, al-Qaeda assisted in the 1996 Khobar Towers operation with Hezbollah, a Shi'a Islamic group. Despite these examples, in addition to bin Laden's general message of Islamic unity in the liberation of Iraq, and general Salafist theology, al-Zarqawi specifically targeted Shiite Muslims and symbols. While these tactics may facilitate a civil war within Iraq and ensure a failed state and US withdrawal, it represents a major inconsistency within al-Qaeda ideology and doctrine.

The second major inconsistency within the doctrine was al-Zawahiri's statement on Islamic reform and democracy, directly contradicting bin Laden. This represents an enormous shift in ideology and also directly contradicts with al-Zarqawi's criticism of the Iraqi election: "we shall not accept the rule of anyone but that of God and his Prophet (Quoted in Blanchard, 2005: 7)".

The importance al-Zawahiri places on ideological consistency is not unfounded, as such inconsistencies within the political/theological doctrine of al-Qaeda and its various factions and arms, have the potential to facilitate factional splits between different sections of the organisation, imitating the splintering phenomenon that was witnessed through many organisations throughout the period of international terrorism. These factions may take the form of more violent organisations, such as al-Qaeda in Iraq, or potentially pure political wings pursuing or assisting identical goals through a political process. In addition, this may also result in sectarian or factional violence between sections of the Salafist movement for resources or dominance.

In *Knights Under the Prophet's Banner* al-Zawahiri specified the first goal of the revolutionary fundamentalist movement was ideological clarity and coherence. It is clear that this goal has not yet been fulfilled as there are elements of the movement's ideology that are incoherent and inconsistent. It is unclear whether these inconsistencies simply represent differences between al-Qaeda and al-Qaeda in Iraq, bin Laden and al-Zawahiri, or are more endemic within the movement's ideology. Regardless, such statements have ensured that al-Zawahiri's first and most important goal for the revolutionary fundamentalist movement remains unfulfilled, indicating (through al-Zawahiri's logic) that the resistance against secular regimes and the establishment of an Islamic state are currently unfeasible. Additionally, it is clear that such inconsistencies represent junctures for potential instability for al-Qaeda and the global Salafist movement. The continued study of the development, inconsistency, and understanding of al-Qaeda doctrine is a necessary element of terrorism studies, as are the potential implications of such research for both terrorism studies researchers and counter-terrorism practitioners.

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